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ABSTRACT

This paper presents findings of a study that examined how six women headteachers worked as school leaders. Specifically, it looked at how they conducted different management tasks, how they interpreted their behavior and values, and how their childhood experiences influenced their current career behaviors. Data were derived from observation, joint inquiry, structured conversations, and life-history interviews. Results show that the women headteachers did not experience a conflict between their preferred leadership style (collaborative and consultative) and a more managerial style. Nor did they perceive educational administration as masculine. They expressed ambivalence about power; they enjoyed using it to make things happen, but feared its potential for abuse. A conclusion is that an understanding of the behaviors of headteachers must include an analysis of their socialization, family, and educational experiences; role models; and personal/family commitments. The findings demonstrate that women, as a result of their experiences as women once they reached headship, exhibited behaviors (i.e., reaction to stresses) commonly associated with both men and women and not as a result of polarization of work and domestic roles. One figure depicting the analytic framework is included. Contains 43 references. (LMI)

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MAKING IT HAPPEN:

A STUDY OF WOMEN HEADTEACHERS OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND AND WALES

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A STUDY OF WOMEN HEADTEACHERS

Introduction

This paper reports on work in progress on an interpretive study of six women headteachers. The paper has three purposes: to present the key theoretical ideas which provide the study's framework; to describe some emerging findings relating to women as school leaders; and to raise issues from the theory, methods and findings which might inform future research on school leadership.

The research is funded by the Leverhulme Trust from September 1992 to June 1994. It aims to show through observation how women headteachers go about different management tasks, what they call 'making it happen'; through 'joint enquiry' (Coleman 1991) and 'structured conversations' (Marshall 1984) how they interpret their behaviour and the values that underpin it; and through biography, how their behaviour as headteachers relates to their childhood experiences through to their present stage of career.

The rationale for focusing on women headteachers is the failure of research based literature on educational management in Britain to address issues relating to women as managers and their contribution to the practice of school management (Hall 1993). There is much armchair theorising and anecdotal testimony but little systematic data collection. Theories of educational management and administration in Britain continue to be based largely on research into men as school leaders (e.g. Hall et al 1986; Weindling and Earley 1987). Such studies have tended to use 'no differences' as a rationale for not focusing on gender as a potentially significant factor in understanding educational leadership. Even studies of primary schools headship, which include women headteachers explicitly reject gender as a relevant factor (Nias 1989).

The Women Headteachers Project described here started with the decision to make it a women only study. It thereby removed the possibility of men-women comparisons, at least within the parameters of the study itself. Studies such as Bolman and Deal (1992) and Berman (1982) that ask whether men and women differ in their behaviour as school leaders then confront the problems of attributing perceived differences to genetic or social conditioning. Most of the 'no difference' studies fail to acknowledge the androcentricity of their interpretive frameworks, which take men and men's behaviour as the norm for describing school management. Shakeshaft (1989: 169) suggests that such no difference studies are both politically convenient to women who want to claim equality with men and limiting in that they fail to identify what women may do additionally and/or differently. Instead this study aims to respond to Schmuck's exhortation (1986: 180):

> *To understand the phenomenon of leadership we need concepts that do not presume the male experience as universal and speaks to all of humanity. Women need to be included as objects and subjects of study in leadership and we need to investigate how our concepts of leadership have been formed by the blinding assumption that leader means male.*

It is a qualitative study of a solely female view of the school world, based on six women headteachers, partly self-selected by their commitment to self-development through participating in the research. Differences are addressed only in so far as they relate to differences between the women themselves and not between women headteachers and their male counterparts.

A multiple metaphor approach

The theoretical orientation derives from a multiple metaphor which is informed by

feminism and phenomenology. The focus of the study is women's subjective reality of leading schools, their experiences of 'being' in organisations (Coleman 1991) in which management has been defined as masculine (Marshall 1984; Hearn et al 1992). While Blackmore (1993) has argued an unequivocal association between management and masculinity (also claimed by Al-Khalifa and Migniuolo 1990), questions remain about the empirical basis for descriptions in Britain of secondary (high) and primary (elementary) school cultures as 'masculine' or 'feminine' and management as masculine in both sectors. In Britain only Acker (1993) has begun to develop an empirically grounded profile of what she calls the 'women's culture' of primary schools. Apart from Cunnison's (1985) small scale study of the effects of a heavily masculine ethos on the strategies of women secondary school teachers, the research base for the association of school management and masculinity is thin. The Women Headteachers Project described here explores these relationships between school culture, management and masculinity/femininity by looking at similarities and differences between Women Headteacher's experiences and interpretations of management in primary schools (commonly perceived as 'women's culture') and secondary schools (commonly identified as masculine cultures, e.g. Ball 1987; Torrington and Weightman 1987).

In our study of Senior Management Teams (Wallace and Hall 1994) we developed a power-culture metaphor to interpret senior management teams in secondary schools in Britain. Gender was considered as a factor but not a significant factor in the teams' operations. In contrast, the Women Headteachers' Project is explicitly a feminist study of power and culture as used and shaped by women. Feminism determines the topic, focus, interpretive framework and methodology and takes gender as a significant variable.

It is a study of women who have power by virtue of their legal authority as headteachers and who are in a position to shape the organisational culture and empower others while at the same time being shaped by others' power. It looks at how they interpret power and its transformative capacity and the resources they use in the dialectic of control to influence others. Astin and Leland (1991), Adler et al (1993) and Marshall (1984) are among those who have provided research-based evidence of women managers' and leaders' different view of power, although only Adler and her colleagues focused specifically on educational administrators. The subjects of most studies of women in management are not in leadership positions. Women headteachers as school leaders in contrast, have the power to define cultural norms rather than be defined by them. A focus of this study is on the kinds of cultures they shape, as through their leadership role they work towards changing schools in order to improve children's educational experience.

So far gender studies within a feminist framework have tended to focus exclusively on women. This project aims to build a research agenda for both men and women, based on a gendered understanding of headship which includes questions about the relationship between the personal, professional and political as well as research methods developed within feminist research traditions. I will return to this in the conclusion.

In summary, the study draws on phenomenological approaches to organising data, in order to explore the subjective experiences of women headteachers to make their social world intelligible. It makes no claims to grounded theory since it starts from explicit hypotheses about gender, power and culture, derived from the literature. These are based on feminist assumptions about the gendered bases of organisational cultures and the ways in which women formulate their organisational experiences with reference to their gender identity (Hearn et al 1992); Coleman 1991; Marshall 1984). It assumes social inequities which have consequences for how schools are managed, including defining management in ways that preclude women and create barriers to promotion: it takes women as its sole focus so that something new can be learned about management. Finally it assumes a bond between woman researcher and woman subject that is not

biological but the outcome of common experiences, which inform the interpretations through joint enquiry.

The research methods

The methods are qualitative and include biography, structured observation and cooperative enquiry (Coleman 1991) for data collection. The aim is to get inside the 'black box' of their experience in order to uncover the subtleties of how they think and frame their experience, although the focus of much of the observation is on the micro-level of social interaction. As a feminist and management consultant I am not an anthropological stranger. Rather I have a transforming relationship to what I see, so that their reactions to and interactions with me are valid data. This is particularly true when the question of gender is approached directly. For a long time the usual response to my routine question after each observation 'was there any point at which you were aware of being a woman' was negative. Yet when I suggested to one headteacher that perhaps we should not tell the (predominantly male group) that it was a study of gender she said that it would be a pity as men heads ought to be reminded it is an important issue.

Following Miles and Huberman's (1984) approach to qualitative data analysis, data collection was integrated with analysis, repeatedly refocusing the research according to interim findings. The purpose of the observations is to move beyond each headteacher's interpretation of being in the job (revealed through interviews as joint enquiry) to systematic data collection of how they do the job. A cyclical process is involved in which each headteacher describes her rationale for how she enacts different aspects of the job, followed by observation across a range of situations and settings. All the interviews are taped, transcribed with concurrent analysis. The data from the observations is then fed back to the headteacher for comment and verification (or otherwise) of their testimony. Unlike Minzberg's (1973) and similar studies of managerial work, the focus of the observations is less on the nature, length and frequency of their actions and more on how they do the job; for example, how they motivate, communicate, use power, shape school ethos, develop structures and processes and make decisions. Essentially all six heads are doing the same job but in different contexts. The interest lies in discovering the commonalities and differences of their approaches as women to headship across a range of settings, at the same time taking account of the ways in which their behaviour is mediated by the context in which it occurs.

As an in-depth study of six women headteachers it does not claim to be generalisable to all women leading schools. Four criteria were used to select the sample: that they were women, had been headship at least three years, were managing the job reasonably well and confident enough to sustain the close scrutiny to which the study would subject them. It also ensured that 'foreshadowed problems' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983) could be explored. They are all from one Local Education Authority to ease access for observations, but in a variety of schools in order to increase generalisability across sites (Miles and Huberman, 1984). Three are headteachers in secondary schools, two in primary schools and one in an infant school. This range allows exploration of the extent to which the different ethos of schools in the primary sector constrains or supports women's preferred leadership styles. In primary schools women lead staffs which are predominantly women; in secondary schools staffs usually have an equal balance of men and women teachers. In both sectors men dominate the posts with management responsibilities. All six women achieved their first headship in the eighties, when the optimism and expansion of earlier decades was on the wane. All were in post at the point where schools were being required to implement the 1988 Education Reform Act, with all the structural, curriculum, political and financial changes that involved.

The study also draws on a life history approach to address each headteacher's uniqueness. A number of extended interviews of one to two hours over the two years of the project explore the background from which spring their beliefs and values as headteachers and women. What influences and role models contributed to early educational and career choices; to their perceptions of power and authority and their own role in stimulating change? What drove these women to overcome the barriers that hold others back? Following Evetts' (1990) work on primary school teachers, what strategies have women headteachers developed to deal with the constraints not only of their dual role (domestic and professional), but also of others' ambivalent expectations of women in leadership positions? What key episodes and critical incidents led to personal change and decisions to pursue new lines of individual activity, for example applying for headship?

At different stages the interview and observational data were analysed, using categories derived from the literature and the study's theoretical framework. The broad analytical framework is set out in Figure 1. This allowed progressive focusing from biography through broader observations of how they do the job to micro-interactions. At the time of writing data collection and analysis is still underway, so the rest of the paper will concentrate on emerging findings in relation to selected themes.

Management as masculine

It has been argued (Al-Khalifa and Migniuolo, 1990; Spencer et al 1987; Hoyle 1986) that one of the barriers to women's promotion in education is their perception of management as masculine, i.e. requiring characteristics and skills more commonly associated with the competitive cut and thrust of the business world. Blackmore (1993) traces how administration has historically been constructed as a masculine enterprise and different from teaching as feminine. When this argument is applied to the women school leaders in this study, it raised two questions. Was the fact that they were not deterred from making the transition from teaching to managing because they did not perceive management as masculine or requiring skills and qualities alien to them as women? For one primary headteacher in the study, management is neither masculine or feminine but asexual:

> *Projecting myself into this new (managerial) role, I see it as being asexual, doing the work but once you're moving out of it slightly, relaxing even with the same people, then you would keep your femininity. I don't see teaching as asexual or being different from being a woman in the same way. There's no need to bring down barriers.*

She did, however, also often refer to her behaviour as taking a form which other women would disapprove of as 'unwomanly'.

In fact, all six had observed closely in the earlier stages of their career how men and women managed schools and combined those lessons with their own preferred approaches to working with people. They only applied for headship when they considered they were inwardly ready to do it successfully. By being ready they meant that they felt they had reached a stage of their own personal development where they felt confident about having the necessary skills to do the job as they interpreted it. It has now almost become a cliche that the desired management style in organisations is female yet Blackmore (1993) rightly questions whether the appropriation by corporate culture of characteristics seen to be feminine is a real reconceptualisation or still hegemonic masculinity. The experience of the six women in this study suggest that changes in selectors' perceptions of desirable leadership styles may have contributed to their success in obtaining headships. Once in post, they bring with that style a strength of commitment and range of experience that ensure the authentic expression of their reconceptualisation of management. This is in contrast to the 'lack of personal commitment to or experience in the field of activity' that Blackmore (1993:43)

associates with the new multi-skilled male manager.

At the same time the 1988 Education Reform Act in Britain has brought changes to schools which Evetts (1990: 182-183) sees as requiring managerialist approaches which may present cultural dilemmas for women headteachers:

> *These heads controlling their own budgets require accountancy skills and the ability to be tough, even aggressive, in negotiations with local authorities over the interpretation of budgetary formulas. Heads have to be competitive in their recruitment of pupils and emphasize pupil achievements in their attempts to influence parents. The pressures on headteachers (and the resultant stresses) are increasing as they are required to be more directive and autocratic in their styles of management.*

There is no evidence so far in this study that the women experience a conflict between their preferred leadership style (mainly collaborative and consultative) and the tasks described above which are the outcome of the 1988 Act. They enjoy budgetary control and willingly use others' expertise where appropriate. They are not afraid to admit limits to their own knowledge and skills. They promote collaboration in order to complete more effectively (Hall and Wallace, 1993). The primary value they place on their school's continuing improvement and quality educational outcomes for their pupils leads to an assertiveness in dealing with local authorities, and governing bodies and staff which bears little resemblance to the toughness and aggressiveness identified by Evetts above. Although all are determined to be better than their male peers, none try to do this by becoming the sort of 'honorary men' that Hennig and Jardim's (1977) study of managerial women revealed.

During the period of the study biographies proliferated of the former prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, including her own autobiography. These revelations and analyses of a woman's leadership style attracted much media attention. All six women in the study were concerned to distinguish their style from hers and point to the ways in which, in their view, she had betrayed the potential of women's leadership styles by her autocratic use of power. As women leaders they do appear, however, to share with her at least three characteristics: a reluctance to use positive discrimination to correct gender inequities, in spite of their own powerful positions as women; using their 'femaleness' when it suits them (e.g. appearance, image as wife, mother, grandmother); and occasionally using what they called 'feminine wiles' in dealing with men (such as flattery and flirtation). While not resembling Margaret Thatcher in her stalwart refusal to recognise gender inequities, these women heads have still not resolved what Grundy (1993) describes as the contradiction between leadership that is emancipatory and that which is only managerial.

In so far as they seek to implement more collaborative methods, they contribute to the empowerment of women as well as men. None, however, has an overt commitment to feminism and actions to undermine the perpetration of male privilege are not common. Their concern to delimit hierarchy extends to both men and women and is expressed as much through their speech and non-verbal behaviour as through structures and processes. They are reluctant to use positive discrimination to rectify the gender-based inequities in the distribution of responsibility posts and allowances. In their view, women must earn these on their own merit, just as they feel they have done. They tend to have a 'male-defined' view of merit which is based on the perceived achievements of those who have historically dominated (Blackmore 1993: 38). Confronted with male domination of the management posts in all except the infants school, their response is that not enough women of 'the right quality' apply. While their criteria for 'right quality' derive from their own preferred management style, they appear to find these more readily in men who have more extensive experience and complementary 'masculine' qualities, than in women whose experience may be more limited. Although four of the six women had had children during their teaching career, their time away

from the job had been very short and their primary concern had been to conceal or compensate for any impact pregnancy and childrearing might have on their job performance. They extend these expectations to a large extent to the women staff for whom they are now responsible.

Value, beliefs and behaviours

The study so far suggests that educational management and administration no longer appears masculine, when studied through the experiences of women managers in schools. Interviews and biographical data show the development of values, beliefs and behaviours that inform their self construction and presentation and their observed practice. For each headteacher, some compromises have been necessary to handle their impact as women leaders on both men and women with whom they come in contact. None of these compromises relate to the fundamental beliefs that shape their goals for the school or strategies for encouraging all staff and pupils to give of their best. They share a common belief in creating a culture in which connection, rapport and linking are valued as much as competition, reporting and ranking (Van Nostrand 1993: 13). A picture of how they do this is being built up from observations of, among other things, their speech patterns, process management, non-verbal behaviour, use of space, distance and dress, all of which convey messages about what they value in the school. For example, the study's focus on non-verbal behaviour starts from the assumption that the messages it conveys may be so loud that the words are unheard. Gronn (1988) too, in his studies of administrator talk, highlights the need to analyse the role of talk in managing people. When the managers are women both verbal and non-verbal messages are combined with their perceptions of how others hear and view them as women leaders. All six women are conscious of ways in which their gender impinges on interactions and develop strategies for minimising or, more rarely, maximising its impact. These range from careful consideration of their daily dress and demeanour to whether they stand up to greet visitors, where they sit in relation to others, how they modulate their voices and the words they choose.

In her study of the image and self-image of women managers, Sheppard (1992: 148) suggests that the area of appearance seems to be one where women feel they can most easily exert some control over how they will be responded to. She gives as an example a women manager buying an expensive business suit which she wears when she wants to 'fade away' as a woman. The women headteachers are equally concerned with the messages conveyed by their dress but dress to be visible, both as headteachers and women. It is important to their self-conception that they are women and recognised as such. Their body language tends to be equally gender correct.

An important focus of the study is their attitudes and behaviours to both men and women, including any influences on their style of the gender of the previous head. The three heads who had male predecessors in part attributed their appointment to selectors' desire to appoint someone with a different style to move the school in new directions. One of these heads commented that 'the school felt like a masculine school which needed a woman to make it more open and professional'. The three heads who succeeded women were also conscious of their different styles and expectation that they would be proactive in leading the school forward in ways their predecessors had not been. The infant school head, for example, was particularly aware of the importance of 'not subscribing to a cosy woman's culture'. The purpose of choosing heads who had been in post for at least three years was that they had time to work through those aspects of their style which were influenced by their predecessor and expectations which she or he had set for headship in that particular school.

Other conclusions about how women leaders work with men and women will be based on their accounts and observations of their interactions with teaching and non-teaching staff, governors, parents and pupils. Gender influences are most apparent in their interactions with their deputies and senior teachers, with whom they share responsibility

for managing the school. In all cases except the infant school (where all teaching staff are women), the heads have one or more male deputies. The three headteachers who also have a woman deputy acknowledge differences in their interactions with the women from those with their male counterparts.

Other gender-specific issues being explored with the headteachers include: how they manage personal-professional boundaries and the relationship between their social and private identities; and how they handle the organisational disturbance created by women in high status positions (Sheppard, 1992). All six have made various compromises and sacrifices in their personal lives to become successful in their careers. They resemble what Byrne-Whyte (1987: 179) identifies as 'adaptive women' mainly succeeding in maintaining a consistent set of behaviours in both parts of their lives. The stresses they describe are less, once they reach headship, the outcome of polarised work and domestic roles and more the result of government demands for multiple change; a pressure to which both women and men heads are susceptible.

Women and Power

The six women in the study have power in the form of the legal authority vested in their headteacher role, their access to multiple resources and their strategies for influencing others' behaviour towards desired ends. The study focuses on how they interpret and use power to 'make it happen', that is create a school environment that maximises children's learning. For all six power means making things happen by having and using resources, empowering others, having and communicating a vision, shaping the school's culture. All this occurs within a framework of being accountable, sharing power with governors, having authority and status. The interesting question is whether the de facto powers they have as headteachers outweigh structural and historical differences in powers based on gender. In patriarchal societies it might be argued that one women's power is another man's impotence.

All six demonstrate some ambivalence about power issues, particularly the three primary headteachers. They enjoy the power to make things happen but fear the potential for abusing power. One primary head said:

> *I also recognise how much power I have got to make people's lives miserable. They could go home from here and I could make them feel miserable. I don't think I have ever done that and I think that the day I do I would dislike myself so much I would want to opt out. So I am aware of the power and I really do try not to use it, but I have to know that I have got it for good or bad ... This could sound conceited but I think I stand back in the position I am in as a head and because I think about everything that that means I feel the people I work with are actually quite lucky that it is me in that position because I do not feel I use that power negatively.*

A secondary head expressed a similar concern about the potential abuse of power:

> *Well, I was the most powerful person in the world from the moment I stepped into a classroom. I think that all the power that is invested in you as a head is merely transposed from the classroom. There is no greater power than the privilege of having a child in front of you and you can usurp that in the same way as you can with colleagues ... In terms of power I am obviously interested in it but it is not the be-all and end-all for me. I am far more about wanting to work with people on the affinity side than I am interested in being a powerful head. I am much happier that people are happy in what they do than I am exercising some kind of power.*

In all cases the heads' responses to questions about power were to distinguish it from their preferred strategies for getting things done.

Jayne (1989) has argued that because women have less power in society they are less likely to abuse power when they have it. She noted how women in introducing change only used coercive power as a last resort; a pattern reflected in the behaviour of these six heads. In one school, the head held back from introducing an externally funded staff development programme to which she was fully committed, in the face of continued resistance from staff and a concern not to overburden them with innovations. Another head, not finding support from senior colleagues for desired change to improve academic achievement, worked for two months on her own strategy for convincing staff of the existence of a problem and ways of dealing with it. In neither case did they impose their will in the face of opposition. In both cases they demonstrated their competence in reading the politics of the situation, anticipating resistance to their initiatives and responding appropriately. For the heads a commitment to teamwork and professional expertise takes precedence over micropolitical strategies requiring selective secrecy, withholding information and manipulation (Baddeley and James 1987). In their ability to make the most of the multiplicity of experiences, abilities and perceptions of the people they work with, they show themselves as politically skilled. At the same time they deny being 'political' which they see as antipathetic to their preference for a culture of openness and trust. The focus of the observations and interpretation is on what their political skills consist of and how they can be seen to derive from their common experiences of being women. Baddeley and James suggest that 'being politically skilled means knowing how to use the rules to make things happen ... combining being politically aware while maintaining integrity' (p.9). In this respect the headteachers appear to demonstrate a kind of political wisdom which is different from that which Ball (1987) associates with men headteachers.

In common with Cantor and Bernay's (1992) sample of women in power, the six women headteachers have a strong sense of self to promote the principles they believe in. The origins of this are explored through the life history interviews. Cantor and Bernay talk of 'womanpower' i.e. power not for its own sake or manipulative but to advance a specific agenda. These headteachers are ideally placed to model womanpower as an approach to leading schools which is as legitimate as definitions of power that link it to conflicting interests. The study uses Giddens (1976) view of power as 'transformative capacity' (i.e. the use of resources to achieve desired outcomes, whether in conflict or collaboration with others). We have suggested elsewhere that this conception contrasts markedly with the prevalent 'zero-sum' formulation (Dahl 1957) where power is defined as 'the ability to get someone to do what he or she would not otherwise do' (Wallace and Hall, 1994). Evidence so far from this study of women headteachers suggests that they interpret power as transformative capacity and not zero-sum, and use power to empower others. Their strategies (both espoused and observed in action) include being thoroughly prepared on issues, reading the situation, being inventive and creative, being oriented towards action, using the system and other people's expertise, placing a high value on effective communication and sharing information, and engaging others in collective effort. All these are constrained by a professional and school culture which is both shaped by and shapes each headteacher's style. They control and are controlled by other parties to the interaction and at times that control is influenced by gender factors. Shakeshaft (1993: 57), for example, has noted that 'even when trained in a similar approach to supervisory interaction, males and females may still bring with them expectations and behaviours based upon gender'.

An agenda for future research

One purpose of the study reported here is to suggest further lines of enquiry when studying school leaders, whether men or women. This research-based study of school leadership in Britain differs from others in that it uses a feminist perspective to explore the power-culture dimensions of school leadership as practised by women. By challenging the common association of education management and leadership with men and masculinity it aims to extend our understanding of these processes in the context of

schools. In order to construct the female world of school administration, it has been appropriate to draw on approaches less commonly used in studying male administrators. Life history approaches that link early experiences with present professional performance are plentiful where teachers are concerned (e.g. Sikes et al 1985) but sparse where principals or headteachers are concerned. This study argues that the behaviour of headteachers can only be understood if their socialisation, family and educational experiences, role models and personal and family commitments are included in the account. Feminist research also encourages concentration on the researcher's transformative relationship to the subjects and the strength of joint enquiry. Although this approach has developed in part to counteract the inequities of positivistic, 'objective' research methods that often omit women's voices from the discourse, it would be perpetuating injustice now to exclude men school leaders from making their voices heard in areas about which such studies are usually silent.

Even Wolcott's (1973) classic study of the man in the principal's office failed to address gender issues involved his 'men only' account. Had he done so he might have more successfully met his expressed concern (Wolcott, 1982:85) that the study would have been more ethnographic if it had given attention to the principal as a human being who happens to be an administrator. In his view, he should have looked more at the links between the broader context in which the principal lived and the institutional environment he sought to create for others. If women, for example, see themselves as constrained by the gendered bases of organisational structures and expectations of women in leadership, so too are men. This study of women headteachers shows that women as a result of their experiences as women, are able to draw on a repertoire of behaviours commonly associated with both men and women. How far do the experiences of men school leaders enable them to do likewise? This is just one of many gender issues for future leadership research to address.

Figure 1

MAKING IT HAPPEN : ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

VALUES AND EXPERIENCES BROUGHT TO THE JOB

derived from

- Family situation
- Educational experiences
- Career choices
- Preparation for headship

descriptions based on life history interviews (e.g. events, influences, role models)

which influence

BEING IN THE JOB
(Philosophy and practice)

- Values - about power, priorities, leadership, management, ethos, equal opps, competition other people, education, children, curriculum
- Personal/professional (boundaries, conflicts, balance, supports)
- Self-organisation and development (self-evaluation, managing time, extension, networking, opportunities for choice, motivation, confidence, aspirations, life stage, being successful
- Being a woman (experiences getting to and in the job, visibility, sexuality)

leading to conclusions about
management and gender
leadership, androgyny,
women leaders and equal opportunities
women heads' responses to educational reform

DOING THE JOB
(repertoire of observed behaviours, style, talk, non-verbal, etc.)

- Using power
  (hierarchies, decision-making, consultation, collaboration, conflict, industrial relations, micropolitics, use of resources
- Shaping culture
  (symbols, dress, language, setting space, humour, communication ethos)
- Strategies/tactics
  e.g. allocating tasks, creating structures decision-making, handling meetings, problem-solving, curriculum development ARM, discipline, pupil learning, managing buildings, budget, working with govs, LEA, community, other schools, industry commerce, monitoring, judging effectiveness
- Being a change agent
  (what intended, achieved, how did it)

Descriptions based on observations and respondent validation

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN STYLE AND STRATEGIES AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY/
CONTEXT AND GENDER

Product — An analysis of headship as done by women

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